Anti-Slavery men, it strikes us, cannot and will not consent to act with any party who will make this question subordinate to any other. Our Governor, in a speech in the Capitol, on the 22d instant, declared, "this will be the question in 1856, and that we should elect none but national men to office." He is national to excess. He denounces Know Nothings more bitterly than I would, and yet is a Know Nothing in fact. "He knows no North, no South," &c., and "the speeches he makes North, he would not fear to make South." This constitutes nationality. And what does all this mean? Simply that Freedom and Slavery are mere matters of taste, have "equal rights," and ought to be equally respected and provided for; or that Slavery is "national." Here is "Non-intervention" and Slavery Propagand-

ism. Now, sir, we want a "party of Freedom," bold and true, who are ready to meet this heart-less position, and drive back the army of the South, with their "Old Line," "Silver Gray," and Know Nothing allies of the North. Let the battle be between Freedom and Slavery, as the great antagonisms in this Government, and let it be understood that "he that is not for us ordinate issues in the South: let there be none in the North. And as bills in legislation are generally committed to their friends, so let the lead in this movement be taken by the men who regard the Slavery Question as the question of the day. We want a Convention, early, to harmonize the Anti-Slavery movement in the different States. Our State will have to be lifted up, several steps, before she will be on an equilibrium platform. We have some fear she may not be able to stand it; for the heads of many seem to swim, standing upon it now, low as it is. A reorganization of the Free Soil party will likely take place in this State. SAN. W. RITCHEY.

HOW IT WORKS.

MANSFIELD, MASS., Feb. 9, 1855. You will learn by the papers that the city of New Bedford, in their municipal election las Monday, have elected their Know Nothing can didate for Mayor, over the present Mayor, Rod-ney French, an out-and-out Anti-Slavery man. So you see what we expect from that secret

THURSDAY, MARCH 29, 1855.

As we do not intend to suffer the Ero to be run down by proscription, but to maintain in vigorous life, the only Press which, at the Capital of the Nation, on slave-soil, advocates the Principles and Ideas of Freedom, we have addressed a private circular to many of its subscribers who have shown an earnest dis position to sustain it, explaining to them the extent of the defection occasioned by Know Nothingism, and the amount of subscribers required to replace those lost. May we no expect a generous response?

Again we call attention to the Pros pectus of Facts for the People. Send in subscriptions. We shall get out the first number immediately, and send copies of it to our vol untary agents, to be used in raising clubs.

FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE.

NEVER GIVE UP! Since we suspended this paper, last year, we

have had several calls for it, and for such doc uments as it would have contained. We have therefore concluded to resume its publication.

matter, specially adapted to the present condition of our cause, and yet worthy of pres-

Such a publication, cheap, convenient, and suitable for extensive circulation and distribu tion, is particularly needed at the present time when old party organizations are shattered and when the Anti-Slavery Sentiment, although pervading the public mind, needs a well-de fined, general organization, and a clear, rational method, to secure it due weight at the ballotbox and in legislation. To quicken this Senti ment, and to aid in giving it a form and method adapted to the exigency, will be the two-fold object of FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE.

"FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE" will be issued the first week of every month, in royal octavo form, the National Era as shall be peculiarly suitable for general distribution. It will be sent only in clubs, at the following rates per annum. twelve numbers constituting a volume

Six copies to one address - -

The postage is a trifle-only half a cent r number, or six cents a year, paid in advanat the office where the paper is received.

Any person or club, by raising \$6, may this way furnish monthly Anti-Slavery reading for a whole year, to half a hundred persons and is not this he very time to indoctrinate the ganizations, with Anti-Slavery principles? Ev cause, to unite, agree upon an efficient plan for then send in their orders accordingly. What say our friends? Will they take hold

of the project, and make it go? Can they think of any cheaper, easier, and more effective plan of operations just now?

As we intend to begin the 1st day of May next, so that there will be but one month for canvassing, we trust all interested in the mat ter will see the necessity of prompt action.

THE NEW POSTAGE LAW-DONT FORGET. The new postage law, which requires the pre payment of postage in all cases, goes into operation on the 1st of April. After that date, al letters on which the postage is not paid will remain in the office where deposited, and will be sent to the dead letter office after the usual de-

Kansas.-The election in Kansas will take place on Friday, the 30th of this month. Gov. Reeder has just issued his proclamation. The

most important points are as follows: "A voter must dwell here at the time of of fering his vote. He must then have commenced to continue permanently; and he must have made the Territory his dwelling, to the exclusion of any other home. In case any election is contested, the parties aggrieved must bring the matter before the Governor, who shall determine the case between the parties contest-

The Missourians are dissatished with the proclamation, saying that by it the Governor makes himself legislator, judge, and executor. The notorious frauds practiced at the last Delegate election, by the Pro-Slavery men from Delegate election, by the Pro-Slavery men from Cuba, the policy of the United States towards our Minister also led him, doubtless, to color his picture too highly.

Mr. Soulé has no hope of the present Cabinet. Spain is in fact governed by England have perpetrated the wrong." There were many the border counties of Missouri, has aroused the will be as it has been; but no such assur- and France, especially the latter, and both are ways of visiting her displeasure, but Mr. Marcy effort will be made to elect a Legislature in favor of making Kansas a free State. The census shows that the population of Kansas is not so great as the vote represented to have been received by Gen. Whitfield for Delegate to Congood faith towards Spain Portly maintained having been consulted unofficially by the Spanhe adds: gress. Our Kansas correspondence represents that the Missourians are pouring into Kansas

TION, AND MR. SOULE'S MISSION TO SPAIN-THE OSTEND CONFERENCE

AN ANALYSIS AND A RESUME. We intend to present, at one view, an analysis and a resumé of the correspondence just published, relating to Cuban annexation, Mr Soule's mission, and the Ostend Conferencea correspondence so voluminous and complicated, that few, even of those having access to it, will find time or courage to examine it with the thoroughness and care requisite to a proper understanding of it. And yet it is one of the most curious, instructive, and important documents ever submitted to Congress: and we entreat our readers to make themselves masters of the analysis which we have taken the trouble to prepare for their benefit. It is long, but it could not be more condensed, without doing

injustice to the subject. As to the printed correspondence between Mr. Perry, Secretary of Legation, and Mr. Marcy, during the absence of Mr. Soulé, touch ing the proposal of a joint commission for the settlement of the mutual claims of both countries, a proposition declined by our Government, there is nothing in it deserving extended notice. Some newspapers, not appreciating the really important themes of the general correspondence, have run off into insignificant side issues, instead of fastening public attention on the criminal conduct of the Administration, and the grave responsibilities it assumed.

Mr. Soulé was appointed Minister to Madrid in the spring of 1854, received his instructions from Mr. Marcy, July 17th, of the same year, and resigned his commission December 17th, 1854, with the request to be relieved rom duty by the end of the following month.

He had been appointed Minister, with one prominent object, the acquisition of Cuba This was not formally written down in his in structions, but they all relate to this object, and Mr. Soulé himself assumes that it was his mission-that to which he was appointed. WASHINGTON, D. C. mission—that to which he was appointed. For example, acknowledging the despatches of Mr. Marcy, recommending him to confer with the American Ministers at Paris and London

"They informed me of the course which was the wish of the President I should pursue in the ascertainment of the best mode through which could be accomplished the main object of my mission, viz: the acquisition of the island of Cuba from Spain."

This mission, the instructions under which was commenced, the manner in which it was prosecuted by the Minister, the obstacles which he encountered, the co-operation of Messrs. Buchanan and Mason, the participation of the Administration, and the utter failure of all, constitute the topics of one of the most remarkable executive communications ever laid before

Before examining this document, one or two preliminary questions demand attention. How happens it that a single man, chosen by the People of the United States to execute the laws for four years, should undertake, on his own responsibility, to accomplish a measure, involving a vast increase of Territory, a large ecession of population, of alien races, a sudden and radical change in the relative representative power of the two sections of changing its form to royal octavo, the size and the Union, a decided preponderance of slaveform of Congressional documents, so that it labor over free-labor interests, and an immense Spain applied to the Allied Powers of Europe there occur an outbreak in Cuba, and should it may be bound into a neat, convenient volume. debt, or a wasteful war? Had that measure for help, to enable her to recover her revolted be Question of Slavery, more useful for reference, that put him in nomination, pronounce upon than for general reading. The plan for the it? Did the Press that supported him, rest his claims upon any such policy? Has a majority of the People of the United States, at any time, under any form, expressed an opinion in favor of it? Have we ever had any intimation from Congress, or the Senate, of the expediency of undertaking such a policy? How happens it, then, that the Chief Executive Officer of the People has dared to venture upon a has been of the preceding ones.

We understand, then, the mission of Mr Soulé, and the reason for it.

But, why was he selected as the fit agent' He had scouted, in his place in the Scnate, the said, would be revolted. Why, then, send him announced that Cuba, the jewel of the Spanish Crown, must be ours. Was all this calculated to secure him access to the ear and heart of the Spanish Government? Why, then, was he Cuba : let us see how he succeeds elected? We presume the President must have thought him better qualified by his familarity with the language of Spain, with the asages of European Courts, with the arts of Administration seemed to repose a child-like ever; Spain is disgusted; Mr. Soulé is disgusted; Messrs. Mason and Buchanan are disgusted; Young America is disgusted; and the United States stand before the world, in the neighbor's property, but afraid to seize it.

The document before us makes 152 pages; and the majority of readers will better understand its nature and drift, by a general view of its main points, than by reading it in detail.

Mr. Marcy, in his letter of instruction to Mr.

Soulé, July 23d, 1853, commences by enlarging pon the importance of Cuba; assuming that without such a change of policy as can scarcely be expected, Spain cannot long "sustain, unaided, her present connection with the island." The course of the United States, in any contin gency calling for their interposition, cannot be precisely indicated, but some general positions are announced. Our Government will not disturb the connection, unless its character should pective security. It " would resist at every haz- apt to speak of Cuba and Spain, and the reard the transference of Cuba to any European | peated attempts by our filibusters to rob her nation." It would regret exceedingly to see of that possession, we can easily understand a territory, there is no great difference; where any blame upon England and France. The the possessor is weak, and the protector strong, well-known sensitiveness and suspicionsness of the distinction is annihilated. Assurance is our Minister also led him, doubtless, to color ance is given, should she resort to the protectorate of England, or France, or both. The France, he had an interview with the French the right to prescribe the precise form, dismisgood faith towards Spain. But where there is ish Government, on the subject of Mr. Soulé's oppression, the sympathies of mankind will be reception, he had expressed the opinion that it mands within forty-eight hours after the deliv that the Missourians are pouring into Kansas again, preparatory to the next election, but with no view of remaining in the Territory. The with no view of remaining in the Territory. The pathizers will aid them. Our Government can count of anything he had previously said in his Government of the United States as envivalent. with no view of remaining in the Territory. The tools of the Missouri Slave Oligarchy will find not prevent the withdrawal or emigration of own country as a private citizen—and yet, to a declaration that her Majesty's

pain over Cuba, and how far they are urging it a grievance that it is to be stopped. change in the internal condition of the island, particularly in regard to slaves."

Let us solicit the attention of the reader for rence." The inference is plain, that, this mmend the interposition of force; especially, if with such protection should be conjoined change in the condition of the island, affectng the present or prospective security of the nited States. It was therefore made Mr. Soule's first mission to ascertain whether such a protectorate existed, and whether the proust this: We will no longer attempt to buy retext, we will seize it.

Mr. Marcy proceeds to say, that Spain may ossibly foresee the necessity of separation, and anticipate what is inevitable by a voluntary act, giving birth to an independent nation of ration, and be "willing to contribute something more substantial than good will towards so de irable an object." These views were to be resented to Spain, if opportunity offered. That is, she was to be assured that, if she would onsent to the independence of Cuba, without would give money in aid of such a policy.

Mr. Marcy closes his letter by referring to the annovances to which our commerce is liable land, or with them both, or with the world in n the present condition of Cuba. If the arbirary will of Spain is to continue some time render the island an injury or danger to us." onger in the island, we must be exempted This, of course, embodied the purport of Mr. com such annoyances. Grievances unatoned Marcy's instructions, but in a style not pecufor must be redressed; provision must be liarly well adapted to advance Mr. Soulé's made against their recurrence; a commercial onvention is urged, and it is insisted that the Captain General shall be invested with qualified diplomatic powers.

Mr. Soulé is referred in this letter to a des patch, addressed to Mr. Buchanan, dated July 2. 1853. The burden of this is, a complaint against the interference of England and France. Mr. Marcy repeats, that the United States will never consent to the transfer of the island to either, or to any other foreign State. When oppression becomes so severe as to excite revolt, and the revolt is too strong to be put State Department, he says, is not the Governdown by the oppressor, "the oppressor assuredly has no better right to invoke foreign aid, the Government has exhausted all its resour than the victims of arbitrary misrule." When ces, and can borrow nothing. Now, should to arrest such interference." It will be obcase of a revolt in Cuba, interference by England and France to maintain the authority of Spain, will be met by interference on the part

fill that colony with emigrants from Africa, so esty, in a case of such flagrant wrong." The onsequences "must be injurious to the United on a mission to acquire Cuba, when it might graphical relation to us, "must be no cause of nore's proclamation against filibustering, and Buchanan is instructed to ascertain how Great Britain stands upon all these points.

Such are the instructions under which Mr Soulé must act. He goes forth to acquire

October 25th, 1853, he writes that the trange sensation created in Madrid by his apcarance, had subsided. Not at all "strange," eived by the Queen with "marked attention and courtesy." A very eloquent harangue, containing a side-thrust at England and France, without naming them, which he had prepared for delivery, was cut down, at the in stance of M. Calderon, to suit the ordinary for mulas, and responded to by the Queen in

s weak and unsteady, nor will the United States suffer much by its fall, Mr. Calderon is disinclined to any policy that might tend to light of a grasping adventurer, coveting his bring the United States in closer connection with Spain. "He is honest, and means well: he is able, and might do much good; but he has no nerve, and his timidity evidently destroys his usefulness,"

> December 23d, he gives the particulars of a crisis - confusion, disorder, and anarchy, everywhere prevail. He speaks of "the blind selfishness and supercilious susceptibility" of the Government. "England and France have succeeded in making us so odious to the people of Spain, that there is not a word or look of insult which their officials would spare us." if they could but believe it would be endured. Our forbearance has led them to think we are not so strong and powerful as we seem to be.

When we consider the style in which our public men, and the press of this country, are Spain invoking foreign assistance to uphold her why we should not stand very high in the estirule. Between the protector and possessor of mation of the Spanish People, without laying ces which they now hold."

course of the Government of the United States | Minister, Drouyn de l'Huys, who told him, that | sal from office! And then going still further, the next Congress composed of altogether dif-ferent materials from the last Congress. Gov. it, they conform to its laws. Under certain Composed in Medrid was at the very time care." come from what section of the country they may. to buy Cuba; but it is scarcely expected that The appointment of Mr. Pezuela to the Cappressly authorize such haste, and such an alter- wake up from her slumber."

Power at every point, to mount upon it. True CUBAN ANNEXATION - THE ADMINISTRA- Spain is now accessible to any proposition of tain Generalship of Cuba is alluded to as a native. "It is expected," he said, "that Spain parchase. Separation, whenever it may take most unfriendly indication. He hates the Yan- will be prepared, when you present the de- demonstrations on the part of Spain, he says shall examine presently. place, will be probably "the work of violence." kees-is rigid and tyrannical-and is invested mand, (for indemnity and reparation,) to ap- there is nothing serious in them. She is with-The President therefore does not authorize any with extraordinary powers. "The slave trade prise this Government of the course she intends out means and credit. She has no fear that any chance of an amicable settlement of diffiake care especially to ascertain what arrange- his letter of instructions, affected profound renents have been made with Great Britain and gret and vexation that the slave trade was still

In reply to an inquiry by Mr. S., Mr. Calderon assured him, on his honor as a caballero that no convention or arrangement existed with moment. The President assumes that Spain | England, for the supply of Cuba with laborers will not sell, and therefore he will authorize no from Africa. Mr. Soulé, strangely enough, proposition to purchase. He assures Spain found, in the very emphasis of his assurance, a hat he intends to maintain a strictly neutral ground for believing that the Minister would policy towards her and the island, so long as not be averse to such a policy! He announce she shall remain, in fact as well as in name, also that England has forced the Spanish Govsovereign over it: but he will resist, at all ernment to the admission that all slaves im azards, its transference to any other Power ported into the island since 1821 are to be conand, he argues to show that the protection of sidered as libertados, enfranchised. If this indignity. Great Britain or France would be equivalent admission be acted upon rigidly, Cuba, he says, possession; in other words, to such "trans- has ceased to have a slave; it is lost to Spain. lost to the civilized world, unless it "redeem it being proved, he would feel authorized to rec- self, and shake off the odious voke." Should it do this, England and France are too much occupied to interfere, Spain would have to with the Cubans or with us.

July 2d, Mr. Marcy distinctly states, in his despatch to Mr. Buchanan, that the American Government does not complain that Engecting power were urging a substitution of land should enforce treaty stipulations in refree for slave labor. Now, strip off the cunning. gard to the emancipados-but Mr. Soulé, in y devised diplomatic phraseology, and it means his despatch, regards this enforcement as sufficient reason for sundering the connection be-Cuba, but if, as is probable, we can find a good tween Spain and Cuba. How distinctly we trace all along the workings of the Slave In-

Mr. Soulé closes the despatch with an allusion to the French Emperor, who, he imagines, is greatly disturbed at his presence, and who her own race. The United States then would has assigned to Mr. Turgot, French ambassador be satisfied : would cordially favor such a sepa- at Madrid, the task of cutting short "my course here "-a strange hallucination.

January 20th, Mr. Calderon is inflexible will listen to no project for a commercial con vention, or an extension of the powers of ou consuls at Havana. Mr. Soulé told him frankly that the Government of the United States my provision for annexation, the United States | would "sternly and unbendingly oppose and counteract any and every arrangement by which Spain with France or Spain with Eng arms, should attempt in the slightest degree to mission. Castilian pride, we should suppose would be as restive under a threat, as a bribe.

February 23d, 1854, Spain is almost in state of revolution. No party sustains the Gov. ernment-it exists by compression and tyran ny. Mr. Soulé has a conversation with the Count of San Luis, and complains that no friendly relations can be established between Spain and the United States, so long as the State Department is under the control of Calderon. The Count is friendly-a full conversation takes place - it is to be resumed - the ment. Meantime, everything is in confusionshould be invested with specific power to meet undoubtedly have had recourse to other means, such a crisis—that is, to buy Cuba, if we un-

March 8th, he writes home for instructions in regard to the detention and search of the About this time occurred what is called the

Black Warrior outrage, which furnished an occasion for complicating still more the relation of the two countries. The despatches of Mr. Soule, breathe almost a belligerent spirit. sentiments of the country will brook any evathe island; but if she is using her influence to sion or delay, on the part of her Catholic Maj-The damages are estimated at \$300,000. This sum is to be demanded; "and it is expected that Spain will be prepared, when you shall present the demand, to apprize this Government of the course it intends to pursue in this matter, and that course will be either a disavowal of the acts of her officials in Cuba, and an immediate tender of satisfaction, or the assumption of the responsibility of upholding their conduct." Delay will be regarded as an aggravation of the injury. It is not to be assumed that "she has not full knowledge of the acts of her subordinate officers at Havana.' "A very few days," Mr. Marcy thinks, will be sufficient to obtain an answer. Accompanying the despatches were voluminous documents containing testimony in the case, ex parte of course, being exclusively from the parties on

whom the alleged outrage was committed. Notwithstanding the urgency of Mr. Marcy's one, he could hardly expect that the Spanish Government would act in the matter, until i had obtained the statements of the other par ties, so that, having the whole case before it.

proper decision might be arrived at. Mr. Soule, however, seemed to understand the Secretary literally. The demand must be made-Spain must act at once, act upon an ex parte statement, and accede precisely to the whole demand. On the 7th of April, he received the despatches-on the 8th, had an in terview with Mr. Calderon, with whom he left the voluminous documents, message of the President, &c., and on the 11th, not receiving a reply, addressed a note to the Spanish Gov ernment, fixing the time of forty-eight hours for its reply.

In his note of the 8th, Mr. Soulé did not ex ceed in a single point his instructions; but in his letter to the Spanish Minister of the 11th. complaining that no reply had yet been received, he not only transcended instructions, but placed the United States in a position from which they could be extricated only by retreat

"I must therefore insist," savs Mr. Soulé "that those who have been wronged receive an indemnity equal to their losses, namely, three hundred thousand dollars, and that all persons who have, in any responsible manner, been concerned in the perpetration of the wrong, be This demand was unauthorized by his in

structions, which went no further than to re-

"The non-compliance with these just de-United States as equivalent

be either a disavowal of the acts of her officials in Cuba, and an immediate tender of satisfacpholding their conduct."

Mr. Soulé, going beyond this, says to the Spanish Government, pay this indemnity-\$300,000 dismiss the Cuban officials from office-comply with these just demands in forty-eight hours after you have heard themor, you will be held as having determined to uphold the conduct of those officers.

It is needless to say that no Government, deserving the name, would submit to such On the 12th, M. Calderon, in a note to Mr

Soulé, refers to the great mass of documents

concerning the case laid before him, the difficulty of translating them, and the fact, that the day which followed their delivery was Sunday, and remarks that his reply, considering all fight her alone, and finally either compromise this, is not only without delay, but with promptness. "Whenever," he says, "the Government shall have before it the authentic and complete data, which it lacks at present, it will propose to her Majesty a resolution conformable to justice. The demand for an immediate decision. inexcusable act of arbitrariness and injustice." He proceeds to assure Mr. Soulé of the friendly disposition of the Government, and its determi nation to act promptly, so soon as it shall have the testimony of both parties, and closes with a dignified notice of the peremptory style in which the American Minister had seen proper o demand redress .

"Permit me, in conclusion, to impress or he mind of your Excellency, that the Government of her Majesty, jealous also of its deco-rum, is not accustomed to the harsh and impe-rious manner with which it has been pressed; which, furthermore, is not the most adequate for attaining the amicable settlement which is

No right-minded man can fail to see, ho ompletely the Government of the United tates, by the hasty and excited action of its Representative, is put at disadvantage in a case in which it has clearly the right on its

April 13th, Mr. Soulé replies in a heated me, closing what he has to say on "so unrateful a subject," with the expression of a hope that her Catholic Majesty's Government av, before it is too late, come to more concilatory resolves." In the same note, he speaks of the records of the legation, as well as those of her Majesty's Department of State, being paded with reclamations, bearing on grievances the most flagrant, which have never been earnestly attended to, &c. This gave rise to a prrespondence between the two functionaries, n relation to these grievances, which were particularized by Mr. Soulé, and discussed at enoth by M. Calderon.

May 7th, the Prime Minister writes to Mr soulé, that the statements expected from Hafully considered by her Majesty's Government. matter had been settled with the proprietors of the Black Warrior, there is no longer a valid claim for indemnity. The letter having been transmitted to Mr. Marcy, he wrote 4 long and very able reply, dated June 22d, bringing to ight facts overlooked by M. Calderon, and exposing the fallacy of his argument. Of this e shall have something further to say.

Meantime, Mr. Marcy did not dream of the state of negotiations at Madrid. He must have upposed that his instructions would have been arried out in such a way as not to alienate the Spanish Government, while convincing it that the United States were in earnest. For, on the 3d of April, only about two weeks after he had sent off the despatches relating to the letter of his instructions, and sympathizing Black Warrior affair, he wrote to Mr. Soulé. investing him, by order of the President, with full power to enter into a convention or treaty for the purchase of Cuba! How utterly be must have misunderstood the relations of Mr. Soulé to the Spanish Government! Mr. Marcy states that the reasons for this step are, "the insettled condition of public affairs in Spain." and "the troubles which may at the in the island of Cuba, from the experime t now making to introduce a new system o' supplying he demand for agricultural labor -in plain words, from the supposed attempt to introduce ree labor into the colony. What watchful quardianship over the interests of Elavery!

Mr. Marcy, with a simplicity quite refreshing enlightened statesmen of Spain must see that he period for dissolving the connection beween Cuba and the Home Government is fast approaching"-that "the natural connection system of government, such a connection would secure to the people of that island the clusive, but breathing no longer threatening benefits of our political institutions," &c., &c. To be sure, he apprehends there may be some difficulty in inducing the Spanish rulers to take this view, but "the President indulges the hope | had changed his mode of procedure : that you (Mr. Soule) will succeed in presenting the matter so strongly to these rulers as to vercome the national prejudices!" Undoubtedly, Mr. Soule had the gift of presenting matters strongly, but, unfortunately, in just such a way as to arouse and inflame "national preju-

The burden of this despatch, from beginning o end, is the acquisition of Cuba; and from he prominence assigned to the subject of the substitution of slave labor by free, it is eviden hat this is the consideration that makes the President so urgent. If the plan "should be gone into extensively," says Mr. Marcy," and carried out in good faith, it will inevitably Africanize the island," "If such be really in tended by Spain, the sooner it is known here to be her settled policy, the better for all conperned." At all events, if circumstances be favorable, "you are directed by the President

to renew the attempt to purchase that island!" These despatches must have reached Mr. Soule soon after his breach with the Spanish Government. How auspicious the moment, for urging upon that Government to give up ts richest West India possession to the United States! Behold the wisdom that pervades our foreign diplomacy!

Mr. Soule, May 3d, acknowledging the re ceipt of the despatch, writes that, although everything looks hopeless now, he thinks he will yet have the very best opportunity for bringing the question to a fair test." complains of the indifference of the Spanish Government to our grievances; and yet that Government was busily engaged in examining every one of these very grievances, and presenting an elaborate view of them to the Uni-Congress to take up and act upon the recom- views its reply to our claim for reparation. the main satisfaction demanded by the United aim of his diplomacy. mendation of the President to invest him with You are therefore at liberty to read the accom- States, he enabled it to effect the double object Let us now go back a little on our track. We ferent materials from the last Congress. Gov.

Reeder is also determined in protecting the bona fide citizens of Kansas in their rights, come from what section of the connected they may.

These despatches were duly received by Mr.

In the last Congress. Gov.

In the last Congress. Gov.

In the last Congress. Gov.

In the says, "receive copy, if he desires it."

State to our minister, and the very time copy, if he desires it."

State to our minister, and the very time copy, if he desires it."

In the says, "receive copy, if he desires it."

These despatches were duly received by Mr.

Let justice be done. Mr. Marcy did not expected the says of the connected that there was no longer cause for them, as good lesson this time, and be sure she will agood lesson this time, and be sure she will agood lesson this time, and be sure she will agood lesson this time, and be sure she will agood lesson this time, and be sure she will agood lesson this time, and be sure she will agood lesson this time, and be sure she will agood lesson this time, and be sure she will agood lesson this time, and be sure she will agood lesson this time, and be sure she will agood lesson this time, and be sure she will agood lesson this time, and be sure she will agood lesson this time, and be sure she will agood lesson this time, and be sure she will ago the conduct of the conduct of

ing a post where he must "behold the conand that of the Administration would be sure to produce.

June 10th, he writes, that the newspapers Spain delight in disparaging our Government, and praising their own. Of course this is a patriotic usage in most countries. He is tortured with anxiety about the relations between the two countries, and the part he is supposed dictation as this. Spain would have merited to have had in "bringing them to a crisis." contempt had she not promptly rebuked the He is anxious to know whether the intimations in American newspapers, of dissatisfaction of the part of the Cabinet, be well founded. June 19th, he refers to a letter of Mr. Marcy,

of the 24th ult., and is concerned to find in it not the least intimation of the light in which is viewed by the Cabinet the course I had to pursue, under your guidance, in the Black Warrior affair." This letter of the Secretary does not appear in the correspondence trans mitted to Congress. Mr. Soule proceeds to complain of his doubtful position; of the impression beginning to prevail that he has transcended his instructions; and that the difficulon an ex parte statement, does not reveal a ty is to be adjusted by disavowing his acts. conciliatory disposition, and compliance with it He demands light upon the subject. Again would be incompatible with the dignity of a he animadverts on the hesitancy of Congress nation which respects itself, and involve an to meet the President on his high ground, which "has surely been injurious to our repu tation for character."

June 24th, he writes, that the President's proclamation against the filibusters "is considered by many a disingenuous mode of masking designs which they suppose it were a scandal to lay bare to the gaze of the world; and that the rumored appointment of commissioners is viewed as an act of condescension, and the idea of his being another Walter Raleigh, sacrificed to the vindictive exigencies of a haughty camarilla, for having offended its under the commission of its Government." We do not wonder at the anxiety or appre

ension of Mr. Soule. That he had trans cended his instructions is plain; that he had precipitated a crisis, which Mr. Marcy only in ended to prepare, is undeniable; but, he be lieved he was acting only in harmony with the spirit of his instructions, that the Administra ion intended belligerent measures, and he con ducted himself accordingly. Nor was he mis taken. Mr. Marcy explicitly says, in his depatch of March 17th, "that the outrage (in the Black Warrior case) is of such a marked char acter that this Government would be justified in demanding immediate satisfaction of the wrong done at the Havana, and in case of their refusal, in taking redress into its own hands," Accompanying the despatch was the copy of a message from the President to Congress, laving before it the particulars of the outrage, expressing little hope that satisfac tion would be made; announcing his purpose should it be refused, "to use the authority and vana had just been received, and would be care. | means which Congress may grant to insure the observance of our just rights, to obtain redress seem to demand. Among these measures, we recollect, was the placing at his disposal some war. The outrage would have justified us it taking redress into our own hands-we will. however, make an appeal to Spain-if satisfac tion be refused, we will satisfy ourselvesinvest me, then, with the requisite power. This was the language of the Administration and, judging from the servility of Congress i the Nebraska matter, it confidently calculated upon a favorable response to its suggestions with the Administration in its confidence forgot the necessary caution of a diplomatist gress failed to meet the expectations of the President, his acts must be practically disa vowed, or the Administration go to war on its own responsibility. While, therefore, we blams the hot haste of Mr. Soule, let us not forget that the President and his counsellors were still more blameworthy, in so eagerly availing themselves of an occasion to quarrel with Spain, and wrest Cuba from her grasp. The refusal of Congress to "meet the Presi

dent on his high ground," saved the country from war, and the President and his Secretary found it necessary to save themselves, even at n so shrewd a diplomatist, remarks, that the the cost of virtually sacrificing their too willing

Mr. Marcy was obliged to submit to the delays of negotiation, and to seek by the pen what it had been hoped the sword might com f Cuba is with the United States under our mand. Hence, the despatch already alluded to, of the 24th June, able, argumentative, con and slaughter. The style of the letter is cred itable to his statesmanship, and the closing paragraph shows how completely the President

> "The President is unwilling to resort to an extreme measures to bring about a better state of things in respect to the island of Cuba, and has therefore determined to make a solemn, and he hopes effectual, appeal to Spain, fo the purpose of adjusting all questions which now embarrass our relations with her, and to make, if practicable, such arrangements for the future, as will give an enduring character

we are not surprised at his announcing to Mr. Soule-"the President does not, therefore, expect you will at present take any further steps in relation to the outrage in the case of the July; that before it could be translated, the

Accompanying this long letter, is another. Cabinet, one merely in name, lingered but two dated 4th June, intended only for the eve of or three days; that a permanent Cabinet, with of Mr. Soule, but this mission was the work Mr. Soule. In this, after stating that the Pacheco as Prime Minister, was not formed the Administration. Mr. Marcy might have President will not recommend a resort to ex- till July 30th. So far the explanation is satistreme measures, till milder means are exhaust- factory. But mark what follows:

you have performed the duties of your mission, in his opinion it would give weight, and perhaps efficiency, to the final appeal he purposes his place. Mr. Soule saw proper to consider he could hardly expect a favorable response to make, if he should associate with you, in these acts as unfriendly to the United States; his demands. The close of the obnoxion most distinguished citizens." To carry out the removal of one and the appointment of the such a purpose, the consent of Congress, he other had not the slightest reference to the exsays, will of course be necessary.

manœuvre is, to relieve the Administration of the burden of Mr. Soule's diplomacy without formally disavowing it, and at the same time the 10th, persists in regarding these acts of the avoid the hazards of another premature crisis. As to the letter in reply to M. Calderon, the President "desires that her Catholic Majesty's cing the Spanish Government in a situation ted States. He charges that the slowness of Government should know in what light he which rendered impossible a compliance with the acquisition of Cuba almost the exclusive

May 24th, in reference to certain warlike to the Spanish Minister, for reasons which we the removal of the only obnoxious officer of

proposal to purchase Cuba. Mr. Soulé will is to be stopped." By the way, Mr. Marcy, in to pursue in this matter-and that course will the policy suggested by the President will be culties, and put the most unfavorable construction the Government." carried out, and "hence her resistance to our tion upon every word and act of the Spanish just demands." He is anxious to know what Government. In July, the quasi revolution looked at every act of the Spanish Government. France to sustain the present dominion of kept up by Cuba. Mr. Soulé seemed to think tion, or the assumption of the responsibility of Congress will do; he could not think of retain-Mr. Pacheco took the place of Mr. Calderon. temptuous insolence" which his discomfiture Pezuela, Captain General of Cuba, was dis- a disavowal of the acts of the Cuban offer missed, the Spanish Ministry, however, express- and the indication of her Catholic Maising itself satisfied with the zeal and loyalty displeasure at their conduct. The disp with which he had discharged his duties. Gen- of Pezuela, in terms approving of his general Concha was appointed in his place-a man administration, did not therefore "rond not popular with filibusters. Mr. Soule chose possible a compliance with the main satisfato regard both acts as unfriendly to the United tion demanded by the United States." A States, and, in an interview with Mr. Pacheco, that Mr. Pacheco could not have contemplate remarked that the terms in which Pezuela was "the double object" named by Mr. Soule dismissed, "took away from her Majesty's Gov- vious from the fact, that (accepting Mr. Soule ernment the means of satisfying one of the main exigencies arising out of the grievances precluded the policy imputed to him, by which had so seriously disturbed its relations tinctly declaring that the dismissal of Perne with the United States"-and that the appoint- with general terms of approbation, was not ment of Concha could not fail "to awake dire- prejudgment of the Black Warrior difficulty ful remembrances, and to wake up emotions which, for the peace and harmony of the two by Mr. Soule, for keeping back the impo countries, it had been better to leave dor- despatch of Mr. Marcy! "It was to ave

Mr. Pacheco gave him "the most solemn patch." That he deceived himself, assurances that no offence could have been real reason was something behind intended, as the decrees were prepared without proved by the sentence that immediate any reference to the existing difficulties be. lows, and which brings to light distinct tween his Government and ours." This was one great cause why the controversy about communicated in a despatch, August 19, but Black Warrior affair was not settled. not a word is said of the presentation of Mr. "I could not deem it judicious to afford Marcy's argument, of June 22d, in reply to Mr. wily Minister an occasion of extricating his

ject," the Black Warrior case. Mr. Soule would not gratify him-he would not submit to the solution of most of our difficulties will him the unanswerable argument of Mr. Marcy Spain. It is convenient to keep open question "I deemed it not judicious to indulge him" of controversy, for the purpose of using the why, we shall soon see. In the notes of a as levers to the great object-the acquision conference held with Mr. Pacheco, made by of Cuba! Will the American People as involving his resignation. It suggests to him the Secretary of the Legation, and transmitted with the same despatch, it appears that the in which this Administration, driven on Prime Minister requested Mr. Soule "to ex. mad ambition for Cuba, has involved itself press what he had said in writing, and that he pride, while acting by the express orders and would then take it under most serious consid. portant despatch for nearly four months, and eration, and act upon it;" he said that the withstanding the note of Mr. Marcy, deter-Spanish Government had addressed the Government of the United States on the subject. and he much regretted to hear that our Gov. ernment was not satisfied; that her Majesty's Government "was disposed to do everything to prove its friendship and good disposition towards that of the United States; but unless the objections to the communication of Mr. Calderon could be made known in writing, he really did not see what he could be expected to do about it." Mr. Soule all the while had in his possession those very objections in writing, with the President's desire that they should be stated to the Minister, and, if he desired it, that a copy of them be given him! And yet, he withheld them! He simply replied that he could see no necessity to put anything in writing." Meantime, he was about to retire to Aulus, on the frontier, for his health, but, if the Minister at any time should feel that his presence at the capital was desirable, he could tel-The conduct of Mr. Soule shows that he was

ntent upon one object, "the main object of his his opinion, however friendly the demonstrati tions of the Spanish Government, it was in fact better to keep open the questions of controversy with it, with a view of facilitating the ac omplishment of the one great object. Mr Pacheco, the head of the new Ministry, in a note dated September 16th, remarks: "From the moment I was intrusted with the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, I conceived it my duty to examine into all claims pending between Spain and other Powers, in relation to injuries inflicted on private individuals, for the purpose of bringing them to a settlement, if such were possible." This was the spirit which breathed through all the communications of the success sive Ministers after the Revolution of July, but Mr. Soule held himself aloof, refused to re spond to it, pertinaciously refused, although argently solicited, to put anything in writing, or to submit to the Spanish Government the objections of Mr. Marcy to the argument of Mr. Calderon, although authorized to do so, and to prepare a copy of them if desired. Speak ng of Mr. Pacheco, in his despatch of August 19th, he says he is "incapable of approaching a certain great question" (the transference of Cuba) "with that boldness of purpose which alone could commend it to public favor. I couched him upon it a few days ago, and found that he was no less reluctant than his prede his indisposition to listen to any overtures on uestions which he regarded as entirely suborinate, if not insignificant. The Administration naturally enough desired to know what Mr. Soule had done with the elaborate despatch of June 22d. On the 27th October, Mr. Marcy having previously received a note acknowledging its reception, but without any intimation as to the manner in which it had been used, wrote Mr. Soule, for information on the subject. It true, it is gratifying to know that Mr. Ma was the President's expectation, he said, that the Government of Spain would be apprized of the unsatisfactory character of its reply to our demands in the case, and of the distinct rounds on which the claim to indemnity and

ing why he had withheld the argument of Mr. Marcy. The despatch speaks volumes, and confirms all we have said of the desire of Mr. Soule to keep open all questions of controversy with Spain, for the purpose of promoting, in some way, the acquisition of Cuba. He states that the letter of Mr. Marcy, of June 22d, was received "in Madrid on the 17th of Calderon Cabinet fell; that the succeeding

On the 1st of August, Pezuela was dismissed "Satisfied with the spirited manner in which from the Captain Generalship of Cuba, with through a minister, sent expressly, if not exthe usual formal terms, approving his general administration, and Concha was appointed in by that fact disabled for any other negotiation presenting and enforcing it, two other of our but Mr. Pacheco solemnly assured him that isting relations between Spain and the United States, and that no question between the two countries was prejudged thereby. In the face a disposition to screen Mr. Marcy and the Presof this, Mr. Soulé, in his note to Mr. Marcy of ident, and run down Mr. Soule. new Ministry as hostile.

"Senor Pacheco thought that by thus pla- The truth is, it is not difficult to see how Mr.

those concerned with the Black Warrior and Our representative seemed unable to see culty, who retained power at the accession . Sober-minded men must see that Mr Soul

> isfaction" demanded by the United States wtestimony) the Prime Minister had effective But this fanciful reason is the one are this that I felt impelled to keep back your

self so easily out of a difficulty, which, who August 30th, he speaks of the "most rest pending, might at least be used as a lever to il ess anxiety" of the Prime Minister, "to get a great object which in other respects I had charword of writing from me on the vexed sub- to prosecute."

This brief statement furnishes the bar their eyes to the wickedness of the din Mr. Soule, after having kept back the in still to withhold it, until further instructhen, if its presentation were insisted upon, l would gladly comply, and "see that it does n encumber whatever movements the President may deem fit to recommend, with a view t the attainment of the great object," &c.

We might as well complete here the hir of this important document, which Mr. San was so reluctant to submit to the Spanish Gor

that the President's opinion as to the exped ency of presenting the views contained in the uriously affecting the negotiation for the c sion of Cuba, it would rather promote it. A cordingly, a copy of the despatch was placed by Mr. Soule in the hands of the Prime Minister M. de Luzuriaga, on the 8th December, and on the 12th it was acknowledged by the Ministra with the remark that he had "read it with much interest." Thus, nearly five months at ter the reception of this "unanswerable are ment" of Mr. Marcy in reply to the last confor him, if desired, and a copy of which would have been very acceptable to the Government of Spain, as appears from the urgency of it. luctantly presented it. And in all this peri-

What followed? Mr. Soule left Madrid or the 2d February, and in a few days afterward the Black Warrior affair was settled by the Spanish Government. Harassed and irritated no longer by an importunate demand for the to listen to a demand upon its justice. The Washington Union of March 21st contains the following semi-official announcement:

" We have reliable information as to Majesty in regard to the Black Warrior affair and have reason to know that the following which appears in Galignani's Messenger ceeded their powers in the affair of the t-the description of the cargo and astment of this affair, which will be cons nated upon taking the necessary proof as to the

not presented by Mr. Soule till December 8th been secured much sooner. Now, blame M portant paper-let us not permit the Adminis sins. The great obstacle to the settlement the Black Warrior difficulty, was the missis piled his "unanswerable arguments" mountain high, but so long as he continued to press the

rior outrage were acceded to. We make these remarks, because we see in some newspaper For our part, we consider the former the more criminal, and the latter, the more unfortunate.

mission, and the withdrawal of Mr. Soule, at

Soule was led by Mr. Marcy himself to make

extraordinary powers to enforce our just de- panying despatch to the Spanish Minister of of endorsing the course pursued towards us find no communication from the Secretary of Soulé, but the letter referred to, was not read full redress had already been obtained through nounces that, "as preparatory to resorting to